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ABSTRACT

The study investigates the formulation of British colonial education policy and attempts to evaluate the hypothesis that the policies formulated by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies reflected a consistent attempt to orient education policy in the colonies to the local needs for human resource development. The use of historical analysis and open-ended interviews subsequently led to a large collection of personal papers and documents of the Advisory Committee by Dr. J. H. Oldham. The research supports the hypothesis and further discloses that the framers of the original policy statement of colonial education issued in 1925 were aware of the necessary correlation between education and economic policy. The original nucleus of the Advisory Committee used what influence they could effectively exert to insist that education be considered a social investment and not an expense (service). Unfortunately, their persuasions could not revolutionize the political-administrative indigenous structure of the colonies, or the Colonial Office. The Advisory Committee on Education had no power to compel; only an authority to persuade. The implications to be drawn from the study suggest that the British experience of cross-cultural educational planning is highly significant for the further development of the construct of Sociological-ecology which would use radical humanism as a heuristic axiological premise. A sixteen page primary and secondary source bibliography is appended. (Author/DJB)

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THE FORMULATION OF BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY, 1929-1961

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May, 1969

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The concern about education and its relationship to national economic development will continue for some time. The only certain factor is that education is increasingly called upon to supply the institutions for the development of human resources when a society expands numerically and economically.

How these human resources are developed through the educational system depends on the formulation of an educational policy which attempts to expand and maximize the capacities of the educational system. The formulation of educational policy by a government, however, is inexorably a political judgement which is the product of many forces, but one which does influence development.

The need for research in the area of educational policy formulation has been suggested by several sources. The International Institute for Educational Planning, for example, met during the summer of 1964 to discuss research needs in educational planning. One of their recommendations was that studies should be made of the, "administration and implementation of education planning".[1] This would involve studies of countries with educational planning experience to examine their procedures and institutional framework for the formulation of educational policy. The need for research in the area of educational policy formulation was also suggested by Gordon C. Ruscoe in Dysfunctionality in Jamaican Education,[2] and implied by E. Christian Anderson in "The Development of Government Policy for Education in Sierra Leone, 1882 to 1961."[3] In both of these studies it is apparent that evaluations or discussions of educational policy in former British colonial territories cannot be completely meaningful without an understanding of the objectives of British colonial education policy, or the nature of its formulation and implementation.

Great Britain and her colonial empire offer a good case study for the formulation of educational policy. Uniquely among the nations of the world, Great Britain pioneered in the field of cross-cultural educational planning, and established an Advisory Committee to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on educational matters for all, or individual colonies. The work of this body has never been fully assessed, nor has a study been made which attempts to analyze the British method of formulating colonial education policy by the use of an Advisory Committee.

This study offers an historical analysis of the formulation of British colonial education policy. It focuses on the institutional framework created to formulate policy, and examines the various pressures which affected Britain's colonial education policy. It evaluates the hypothesis that the educational policies recommended by the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education reflected a consistent attempt to orient education

policy in the colonies to local needs for human resource development. The study further provides a limited analysis of the functional relationship between the administrative structure of the Advisory Committee and the various personalities who interacted with the Committee in the process of policy formulation. It is not within the scope of this limited inquiry to compare policy with practice.

For the purpose of this study, "British colonial education policy" is defined as that policy which was formulated by the A.C.E.C.[4] It does not include the educational policy formulated in the various colonies unless that policy were subjected to the review and approval of the A.C.E.C. "Colonial" is defined as the geographic areas whose educational policy came under review by the British Colonial Office. This obviously excludes the Dominions and India, but also the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, North Borneo, and Sarawak. It includes areas like Palestine, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. These territories were administered through other offices but their educational problems were considered by the A.C.E.C.[5]

The definition of educational needs is ambiguous. However, for the purpose of this study it will be defined as the educational objectives and/or institutions which were considered essential for the educational development of a given colony. The people who considered them essential and the definition of educational development requires further deliniation.

To a degree, the evaluation of educational needs was a function of the A.C.E.C. There were, however, other channels which often expressed what they considered to be "educational needs". Generally these channels originated from within a given colony and consisted of colonial officials, missionary representatives, native councils, European settlers, and business interests. Therefore, one of the functions of the A.C.E.C. was to assess the educational needs envisioned by the various intra-colonial interests, consider these in light of other educational experiences and the committee's ideas on educational needs, and then arrive at a statement which attempted to establish the guidelines for transforming educational needs into policy.

"Educational development" will be defined simply as the expansion of the educational system. The consideration of "educational development" can thus be seen in the same light as "educational needs". The A.C.E.C. acted as a debate forum for ideas on educational development and within its given authority attempted to formulate policy which would advance the stage of educational development within a given colony.

Obviously the A.C.E.C. made value judgements on what it considered "educational needs" and "educational development". However, it is not within the scope of this study to make an evaluation of the A.C.E.C.'s value judgements, but rather to analyze as objectively as possible the relationship between what was considered an educational need and what ultimately became educational policy.

The administrative structure of the colonial empire also requires

some clarification; however, in subsequent chapters it will become clear that the explanation at this point is elementary and meant only to explain how the A.C.E.C. fit into the colonial administration. At first glance, this administration appears straight forward. The Sovereign appoints a Governor who represents the Sovereign in a particular territory. The executive powers of the Crown are thus vested in the Governor. It is because of this individual relationship, Crown-Governor, that the development of the colonial empire has been described by an inter-war Secretary of State as, "... an autochthonous evolution...."[6] The autochthonous nature of the colonial empire would seem to negate any apparent influence that the Colonial Office might have in establishing policy for a given colony, or the colonies as a whole. However, in practice this is not the case. The Crown acts on the advice of Ministers and as such the Secretary of State for the Colonies has the power of influencing both the appointment of Governors as well as their dismissal. The Secretary of State, however, is dependent on information from the Colony in making judgements and this information formally passes through the Governor. Further, the Secretary of State as a government minister is responsible to Parliament. Thus a delicate system of balances are in operation which make the Secretary of State and the Governor the chief executives in the administrative structure of the colonial empire.

In educational matters the Secretary of State was advised by the Advisory Committee on Education, and since he relied on their opinion, expert or otherwise, the advice they rendered in effect became the advice of the Secretary of State and as such the policy of the Colonial Office. A Governor was not required by any written law to follow the advice of the Colonial Office; however, by a heritage of tradition, and perhaps more realistically a desire for self-advancement, a Governor would cooperate as fully as possible in carrying out the Secretary of State's advice on educational matters. If there were peculiar local conditions which prevented a Governor from complying the problem was usually relayed back to the Secretary of State who in turn passed it on to the Advisory Committee for further study. Adjustments could always be made in general policy statements to fit the unusual local situation. Behind what appears to be these simple channels of communication and authority lay the bureaucratic structure of the Colonial Office civil service. It was this structure and its counterpart in the colonies that manipulated the day to day functions of the administrative machine. Its channels of communication and authority were fairly well defined, yet the "labyrinth effect" could be detrimental to formulating policies or making quick decisions.

There are few works which deal directly with the Advisory Committee on Education. The most recent is a study by L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (1954). His study, however, is primarily a digest of A.C.E.C. policy statements and does not provide an analysis of the formulation of the colonial education policy. The lack of source material accounts for the restriction since he used only the major Colonial Office documents which were available to the public up to 1953. The other work, Education in the Colonial Empire(1939), by Arthur Mayhew, which deals with the Advisory Committee is more a personal

account of one individual's view of British educational policy. However the fact that Mr. Mayhew was a Joint-Secretary of the A.C.E.C. makes the book valuable for a study on the formulation of policy since it does discuss what one member of the A.C.E.C. felt were the basic educational needs of the colonial peoples.

Other books which deal indirectly with the A.C.E.C., but which have been useful in many ways are Margaret Read's, Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas; W.E.F. Ward's, Educating Young Nations, and Fraser of Trinity and Achimota; and Lord Lugard's, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa.

Works by Africans offer some interesting and often conflicting views on the British colonial heritage, and in particular the British educational policies. Nigerian Education, edited by Dr. O. Ikejiani, represents a strong anti-British sentiment. The first chapter, written by P. Uduaroh Okeke, discusses the educational backround of Nigeria and concludes, "After all, the British rulers did not want to educate Africans for positions which provided jobs for themselves. Many of them knew that if they intensified the education of Nigerians they would hasten the end of occupation."[7] In a more reasoned view, Davidson Nicol suggested that the British could have done more, but what was done was done well. Nicol believes that Africans would not necessarily have done much better had they been in the place of the British.[8] This view gains strong support if the development of Liberian education is compared with any of the British African colonies.

Some peridodicals have contributed useful information for studying the A.C.E.C. Foremost is Oversea Education which was created by the Advisory Committee as a vehicle for spreading educational ideas and experiments throughout the colonies. The Journal of the Royal African Society; the journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Culture, Africa; and the International Review of Missions were also beneficial for articles dealing with policy statements, or problems the A.C.E.C. was in the process of evaluating.

Government sources include the reports of officials who made tours of various colonial areas, as well as government commissions of inquiry on various topics. The public reports of the A.C.E.C. provide a record of the major policy statements on education and are basic to this study. Parliamentary debates offer another source, although limited for reasons which will be developed later, of the pressures which affected colonial education policy.

Great Britain is not alone among nations for having faced the responsibility of providing education for its colonial peoples. France, Belgium, the United States, and others have shared similar responsibilities. Great Britain's response to her responsibility, however, was unique and, in part, is the reason for the significance of this study:

> The situation ... in which one people finds itself ultimately responsible for the education of other peoples of very different stock in other parts of the globe is, when you pause to consider it, peculiar.[9]

Britain's situation was not peculiar; it was the response to her situation and the subsequent creation in 1923 of an Advisory Committee on Education. The work which this committee undertook represents 38 years of educational planning and as such a unique experience in the field of educational development for under-developed countries. As Professor Eggertsen stated in 1960, "...America is spending vast sums and utilizing the talents of thousands of Americans in an attempt to help the world through education, while those of us responsible for furnishing guide lines for this effort on the basis of historical and contemporary experiences have failed to supply the needed help."[10]

It is for this reason that an historical study of the formulation of British colonial education policy will be most signigicant. There is a great deal to be learned about education's role in a developing economy, but historical investigations of past attempts at educational planning will certainly be helpful in acquiring needed objectivity as well as providing useful frameworks upon which more educational theory and practice can be added.

Summary: The objectives for this study were selected after careful consideration of the work being done to clarify education's role in society. It is a basic assumption that education has a positive role in development and that as a society expands both numerically and economically, it depends with increasing importance on its educational institutions for the development of human resources. How these resources are developed and utilized, however, depends in a large part on the formulation of a sagacious educational policy which will maximize the capacities of the educational system.. Although studies determining the capacities of an education system are essential, it is also essential to analyze the various pressures affecting policy formulation as well as the process of formulating policy. Therefore, the following objectives will be the basis for this study:

> (1) To analyze the decisions affecting British Colonial education policy in terms of political, economic, sociological and diplomatic pressures from 1929 to 1961.
>
> (2) To investigate the relationship between the formulation of British Colonial education policy as determined by the Advisory Committee on Education and the concern for human resource development in the colonies in terms of the changing economic and socio-political demands.

The study should test the hypothesis that the needs of British Colonial societies in terms of human resources which were presented to the Advisory Committee determined the educational policy advocated by the Colonial Advisory Committee on Education during its functional life from 1923 to 1961.

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD

The principle methodology for this study has been historical analysis; however, due to the contemporary nature of the topic it was anticipated that some sociological methodology might prove beneficial. Put to the test in actual field research, the combination of these two methodologies proved eminently successful. So much so that the whole perspective and dimensions of the study were significantly modified.

The availability of public documents was limited to a select number of Colonial Office publications dealing with education in the colonies. These documents were Memorandums drafted by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies and approved for general circulation by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. For the purpose of the study these documents provided the basic information of what the Colonial Office was publicly announcing as policy, but there was a clear lack of information as to what pressures, influences, or personal involvement had gone into the formulation of the policy statement. Using historical methodology, it became quite clear that there existed another source of documents in the form of Advisory Committee Minutes, Colonial Office Circulars, pamphlets, and memorandums by members of the Advisory Committee that were not available as public documents. Access to this historical data was necessary if the central hypothesis of the study could be thoroughly tested. For a time it appeared that the study might have to be abandoned if the only data available were public documents which had already been analyzed as to their descriptive content for it was the exsistence of these materials that had lead to controversial debates over the disparity between policy and practice.

The sociological method employed was the sociologist/anthropologist/political scientist technique of using open-end interviews with individuals who had been involved in the topic under investigation. These interviews proved helpful in soliciting personal recollections of Advisory Committee members and created some useful data on the leadership dynamics of the Advisory Committee as well as the inner-relationships between Colonial Office staff, Advisory Committee members, and the Education Departments in the various colonies. The sociological data tended to focus mainly on the World War II and post-war period, but as the sources for historical documents appeared limited, it became apparent that perhaps some link could be made between the sociological data and sources for historical documentation in an attempt to provide some degree of continuity. As it stood, the period under investigation from 1929 to 1936 was limited to historical documentation of public documents that were only of partial value in relation to the objectives of the study. The period from 1936 to 1961 was likewise limited to public documents, but was open to sociological investigation which was proving extremely helpful in acquiring data on attitudes, values and administrative procedures in the formulation of

Colonial education policy. In both periods, however, there was a paucity of hard historical data to document an intuition that the key to the formulation of policy might be found in the origins of the policy making committee rather than in what appeared to be the lineal amplification of a basic policy belief.

The methodological breakthrough occured when it was discovered that the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies was a direct continuation of the Advisory Committee for Native Education in British Tropical Africa, and not, as had been supposed, a newly appointed Committee. This led to an investigation to discover whether or not any of the members of the original Committee appointed in 1923 were still alive in 1965. The investigation disclosed that the only living member of the original Advisory Committee on Education was Dr. J.H. Oldham who had been Secretary of the International Missionary Council which later became a part of the World Council of Churches. Dr. J.H. Oldham proved to be the necessary historical-sociological link between the early period of the Advisory Committee (1923 - 1939) and the later period, 1940 to 1961. Interviews with Dr. Oldham disclosed that he had played a central part in the formulation of policy and in the creation of the Advisory Committee itself. With his kind permission and encouragement, I was able to use his personal correspondence and accumulated memorandums for the essential historical documentation that was necessary to develop the analytical continuity of earlier and later periods of policy formulation.[11] It was also discovered that the International Missionary Council offices had a partial set of (1923 - 1948) Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education which further assisted in the documentation of the study.

The combination of historical and sociological methodology proved highly productive in relation to the objectives of the study. Had a working synthesis of the two methods not been used it is highly probable that the study could not have acquired sufficient data to test the central hypothesis: The educational policies recommended by the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education reflected a consistent attempt to orient education policy in the colonies to local needs for human resource development.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

The project has proved significant due to methodological results as well as results derived from historical analysis.

Methodological Results:

The methodological results which followed from the breakthrough in combining historical and sociological techniques has contributed to a significant increase in archive material in the field of British Colonial History. For documents and materials that will be fully catalogued at a future date see "Unpublished Material" in the Bibliography section of this report. The significant and original bibliographic contributions to the field of British Colonial Education Policy are the following:

(1) A Micro-film copy of all of the Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa (A.C.N.E.B.T.A.) from 1923 through 1928.

(2) A Micro-film copy of nearly all the Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies from 1929 through 1948. The Minutes for the 98th meeting (Oct. 19, 1939) are missing as well as the Meetings 100 - 108 (The eight meetings which took place in 1940), Minutes for 117th Meeting (October or November 1941) and the Minutes for the 127th Meeting (August 17, 1944).

(3) Zerox copies of key letters in the Oldham Papers as well as the Memorandum which initiated the creation of the Advisory Committee. The Memorandum is entitled, "Educational Policy in Africa". Also there are taped selections from the Lugard Papers with the kind permission of Dame Margery Perham.

(4) Taped interviews with Dr. J.H. Oldham, Mr. W.E.F. Ward, Sir Hilton Poynton, and Sir Christopher Cox.

Historical Analysis:

The results obtained from historical analysis of the data pertinent to the objectives of this study as well as statements of fact that can be documented with data gathered for the study can be combined and enumerated succinctly as follows:

(1) Formal British Colonial education policy began in 1923 with the appointment of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa.

(2) The formulation of the Advisory Committee, as distinct from policy, was initiated by Dr. J.H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council and the Chairman of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

(3) There was a dual reason for establishing an official Colonial Office education policy:

(a) To insure the cooperation of Church and State, as it existed in Great Britain, in the British African colonies so as to inhibit colonial governments from adopting an encroaching American tradition of separation of Church and State.

(b) To insure that the educational policy for Africa was sufficiently thought out so as to prevent the development of a purely scholastic educational system if that system were not in the interest of the African peoples.

(4) The actual formulation of British Colonial education policy was a synectic approach which involved the following nucleus: Lord Lugard, Sir Michael Sudler, Dr. J.H. Oldham, and Sir Hanns Vischer.

(5) The educational policy formulated for the British African colonies was based on the concept of education for need and geared to the essential criteria of 'Adaptation to local needs'.

(6) The educational policy and the economic policy of the British Colonies in Africa were not in agreement, nor did it prove possible to effect a suitable correlation between economic conditions and educational policy.

(7) The autocthonous administrative - political structure of the British Colonial Empire further estranged the possibility of effectively combining the economic, educational, and social policies of the individual colonial territories.

(8) The world economic crisis between 1929 and 1939 which adversely effected both Great Britain and her colonies necessitated the use of American financial support to continue the work of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies between 1933 and 1939.

(9) The realization of the change in the anticipated timetable for colonial self-government combined with the need for economic recovery from the depression of the 1930's resulted in a major change in the socio-economic policy of the Colonial Office and Parliament and resulted in the passage of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940.

(10) The Colonial Office assumed financial responsibility of the A.C.E.C. in 1940 and with the creation of the post of Educational Adviser controlled the dynamics of educational policy formulation.

(11) The educational policy for the post-war years was an amplification of the original policy statement embodied in the 1925 White Paper Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (cmd. 2374); London: H.M.S.O., 1925.

(12) The functional utility of the Advisory Committee on Education steadily declined from 1952 until the Committee was discontinued in 1961 and the educational Advisers were transfered to the Department of Technical Cooperation.

(13) The Advisory Committee on Education met continuously from 1924 (January 9th) to 1961 (June 8th) for a total of 289 meetings over a period of thirty-seven years.

(14) The hypothesis that the educational policies recommended by the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education reflected a consistent attempt to orient education policy in the colonies to local needs for human resource development is clearly substantiated. The disparity between policy and practice was caused by a lack of control over political and economic policy.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

The origin of policy can be more clearly understood if the true origin of a policy making body, such as the Advisory Committee on Education in Colonies, is thoroughly investigated. Thus, an examination of the true origin of the Advisory Committee is helpful for delineating the pressures on educational policy formulation and the personalities responsible for influential decisions. Knowledge of the pressures and personalities, in turn, assist in the examination of educational policy by focusing on the channels of communication through which educational needs were recognized and transformed into policy.

To discover the initiator of actions which result in policy can be, in many cases, an elusive search for shadows; however, in the case of the Advisory Committee on Education it was not difficult to track down the initiator of the action that subsequently led to the appointment of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa which was later (1929) renamed the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

Genesis of Policy:

After discussing the educational situation in Africa with Sir Michael Sadler, Dr. J.H. Oldham wrote the Parliamentary - Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Rt. Hon. William G.A. Ormsby-Gore (later Lord Harlech), asking for an opportunity to discuss with him the implications of cooperation between the Government and Missionary Societies, as effective cooperation "requires a definite policy on the part of the Government with which we can cooperate".[1] It followed from their meetings that Dr. Oldham prepared the Memorandum entitled 'Educational Policy in Africa' and with Ormsby-Gore's support as well as Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Sir F.D. Lugard and the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented the Memorandum at a Governors' Conference on June 6, 1923. Dr. Oldham worked continuously from March until June to insure the approval of the Memorandum which called for the formation of an Advisory Committee to assist the Secretary of State for the Colonies in formulating a British colonial education policy. As Dr. Oldham expressed in a letter to Dr. T. Jesse Jones, author of the famous Phelps-Stokes Commission reports on Education in Africa:

> You will realize that it is in these preliminary discussions (the Governors' Conference at the Colonial Office) that policies actually take shape. Supposing at one or more round-table conferences the Governors of the three West African Colonies (Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Gold Coast, Sir Hugh Clifford, Nigeria; and Mr. A.R. Slater, Sierra Leone) form certain ideas which are mutually agreed upon and which, in consultation with us, they believe to be acceptable to the missionary societies, those are the ideas that will go through and the discussions at the Imperial Education Conference will have no effect upon them.[2]

Dr. Oldham's information was correct, for the Governors' Conference did approve the idea of an Advisory Committee, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed the full Committee in November, 1923. The committee held its first meeting on Wednesday, January 9, 1924, at 10:45 a.m. in Ormsby-Gore's office at the Colonial Office.[3]

The involvement of the Protestant Missionary Societies through their representative Dr. Oldham in the formulation of a colonial education policy which called for cooperation was not initiated for the purpose of increasing the interference between Government and missions, rather in Dr. Oldham's view, "... the whole object of the present move is the precise opposite."[4] The problems of finance were affecting the Missionary Societies in Africa and it was very evident that Government resources were far more substantial than missionary resources. The alternatives were clear: either the missionary societies cooperate with Governments and thereby gain government financial support, or do nothing and eventually see the educational system entirely in Government hands. Dr. Oldham's tactical strategy paid off, for once the Government accepted Missionary cooperation, they would also be obligated to assist the educational activities of the missionary societies through financial support.

From the viewpoint of human resources, the emphasis on the need for policy was focused upon the socio-economic conditions of life in Africa and later under-developed Colonial territories outside of Africa. Disease, malnutrition, lack of sanitary facilities, lack of adequate housing or transportation, high infant death rate (which conversely meant a relatively low population increase) low life expectancy, and an almost completely illiterate population were conditions that any responsible Government could not allow to exist without some effort to ameliorate the situation. The choice between a scholastic education in the British Public School tradition or an education that could prove relevant to the environmental conditions in under developed countries was hardly a choice. The environmental conditions in Africa were screaming for improvement, at least in terms of European standards of living and the only model of education geared to anywhere near similar conditions in Africa was the rural school movement in the Southern United States which was influenced by Booker T. Washington and based on the concept of community development. The only real similarity between the two was the blackness of the population, but nevertheless the attraction to negro education was understandable. It was inevitable that the individuals responsible for formulating the British Colonial education policy would be singularly attracted by the Phelps-Stokes Commission Reports and the recommendations made by Dr. T. Jesse Jones with respect to education that met the needs of the people. In essence, an educational policy that was relevant to the environment in which the people lived and from which they gained their livelyhood.

The Dynamics of Policy:

The individuals who formed the basic educational policy for the Colonial Office were Sir Frederick Lugard (later Lord), Sir Michael Sadler, Dr. J.H. Oldham, and Mr. Hanns Vischer (later Sir).[5] They represented a balance of

the various elements involved in, or with, colonial education: Colonial Governors, Colonial Service officials and the Colonial Office in Whitehall by Sir Frederick Lugard; the professional educators in Great Britain and the Colonies by Sir Michael Sadler; the various Protestant Missionary Societies and indirectly the Africans through his close friendship with Dr. James E.R. Aggrey by Dr. J.H. Oldham; and the matter of language and vernacular use by Hanns Vischer. The policy was not dashed off, but was evolved over a period of time with drafts of the policy being sent unofficially by Dr. Oldham to knowledgeable and influential educators in and out of Africa. The synectic approach preferred by Dr. Oldham for tactical reasons as well as strategic were expressed to Hanns Vischer, the Secretary of the Advisory Committee, "It makes all the difference to a man's feelings afterwards if he feels that his opinion has been asked for."[6]

The policy statement which the Advisory Committee issued in 1925 became the heuristic for educational development in the British Colonies. It's conclusion was startlingly simple, yet singularly revolutionary from a purely British point of view:

> "The education of the whole community should advance pari passu, in order to aviod, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal traditions by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community."[7]

What in effect the framers of the British educational policy had done was to reject the British educational premise of education for the elite in favor of a comprehensive, educational structure similar to the newly created Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but attempting to incorporate within a comprehensive system at least a branch of the British system rather than transplant the whole tree. The disparity in the British educational design for African, and later other Colonial territories, was the lack of substantive agreement between the educational system and the Colonial economic system. The educational system in its heuristic conception was designed primarily as education for use; where as, the economic system was geared to production for profit. Could the two be successfully married? The Advisory Committee attempted to deal with the problem of financial support for colonial education by attempting to move the Colonial Office to adopt a policy which would allocate a specified percentage of capital investment in any colonial territory to that colony's educational budget.[8]

Had the Advisory Committee succeeded in convincing the Colonial Office to adopt the educational investment policy there would have been greater financial resources available to Colonial Education Departments for actualizing the heuristic educational design set by the Advisory Committee. As it turned out, the autochthonous administrative-political structure of the colonial empire was far more influencial in the halls of the Colonial Office and successfully sidetracked the idea. The economic power structure in the colonies was not ready to accept the idea of education as an investment in human resources, nor even was the British Parliament, nor the womb of British conservatism and victorian fiscal policy, the Treasury Office.

The Advisory Committee on Education could be revolutionary wtih educational ideas, but was not at liberty to be revolutionary with Colonial economic policy. The only weapon at its disposal was the power of persuasion and it would not be until well after the Second World War and almost at the conclusion of the Advisory Committee period that the idea of education as a social investment began to gain weight with proconsuls of the Colonial Office and officials in International organizations working on development in under-developed regions.[9]

American Support for British Advisory Committee:

A classic example of the Colonial Office's lack of real concern for education was their intention to reduce the secretariat of the Advisory Committee in the early 1930's. The Advisory Committee on Education had operated with a joint secretariat from 1929 when Mr. Arthur Mayhew had been appointed to share the responsibilities of committee secretary with Hanns Vischer. To reduce the secretariat would necessitate a reduction in the committee's scope and function at the same time as the committee was trying to amplify the original policy statement on the education for the whole community. Dr. Oldham desired the work of the Advisory Committee to continue and considered its overall value far higher than the meager cost of the salaries of the secretariat. In correspondence with the President of the Carnegie Corporation, Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, Dr. Oldham solicited financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation in return for the highly valuable work the Committee could perform.[10] The response from the Carnegie Corporation was positive and Dr. Oldham immediately asked the Colonial Office to take up the matter which resulted in a grant of $5,000 a year for the next six years.[11] Had the Carnegie Corporation been unable to assist in the financial support of the Advisory Committee on Education, it was certain that the Colonial Office civil service staff would have seen to the elimination of the Advisory Committee on Education. According to Major Ormsby-Gore there was an internal drive to get rid of all the advisory committees and advisors who were not members of the, "Home Civil Service Trade Union!"[12]

Advisory Committee in Post Dr. Oldham Period:

The termination of the Carnegie grant in 1939 and Lord Harley's recommendations that the Colonial Office have an Education Adviser prompted the current Secretary of State for the Colonies, Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, to appoint Mr. Christopher Cox (later Sir) as Educational Adviser.[13] The Advisory Committee continued to meet but the change in administrative structure placed greater influence in the Advisory Committee's Secretariat which was welded into the Colonial Office Civil Service through the position of Education Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. As personnel and money permitted, the Education Adviser became a peripatetic extension of the Secretary of State and the Advisory Committee in his discussions with various education officials in the colonies. The flexibility was important. Lord Hailey had noted in his survey of colonial policy that only in the field of education had a definite policy been laid down, but he also emphasized that a considerable amount of variation in methods

and quality which created a definite need for greater coordination of policy amongst the various colonial dependencies.[14]

The years of the Second World War placed the colonies in a new light. No longer were balanced budgets considered the sine qua non for colonial prestige. The spotlight was shifted from fiscal considerations to the life blood of empire-human resources. How tragic that only in times of war are human resources given unlimited priority. Yet the justification for a similar policy in times of peace is always met with the argument that it costs too much, or that too much government spending is dangerously inflationary, or that the tax burden to pay for large scale social programs would be too great. The question remains: who pays for the cost of war? If a society can regulate itself and somehow manage to afford the cost of a war, why not the cost of programs that seek to develop rather than destroy human and material resources?

Colonial Education Policy Reconsidered and Affirmed:

The emphasis on human resources during the war years pointed up the need for adult education and mass literacy programs to prepare the colonies for development projects that were anticipated after the conclusion of the war. Also the anticipated increased demand for colonial self-determination and eventual Independence which was obviously going to need increased educational facilities. The winds of change had gently swirled through the Colonial Office and the lead time for eventual self-government in the colonies was constantly being revised downward. This was a difficult adjustment for the proconsuls of empire who used to think in terms of 100 to 150 years of lead time in the 1930's while only a decade later faced with an estimated lead time of barely 10 to 15 years! With this exponential reduction in the time available for preparing the various colonies for self-government and Independence, it would seem reasonable that similarly drastic changes might be called for in the colonial education policy.

It is indeed a tribute to the architects of the first official Colonial Office educational policy that what they envisioned as a sound educational policy in relation to the local needs of the colonial people would stand the most severe test-relevance over time. Indeed as heuristic criteria is still relevant and will continue to be as long as a humanistic premise remains relevant:

> "The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people..." and that
>
> "The education of the whole community should advance pari passu...."[15]

What the Advisory Committee called for in 1943, 1948, and 1952 was not a basic change in policy but a rededication to the philosophy of the original policy and the suggestion that full resources of the colony be applied to implementing the policy. The Mass Education Report of 1943 clearly pointed to the Soviet Union and China as example of how massive

mobilization of available resources could make significant changes in the education of the whole community.[16]

The tragedy of British Colonial education policy as formulated by the Advisory Committee on Education was that it was not also the economic policy for the British colonial territories. Had the economic policy been humanist and community development oriented rather than profit for entrepreneurial development, then the educational policy would have had a higher degree of correlation with the economic policy and conditions in the colonies. The heuristic design for education envisioned in the policy of 1925 as well as the design for education clearly elaborated by the Binns and Jeffery Reports on education in East, Central, and West Africa in 1952[17] were in agreement as to the scope and magnitude of the educational system. But unfortunately the economic policy of the British and colonial governments considered education a social service-i.e. a cost to be treated as an expense. As long as education was treated as an expense rather than an investment it was relegated to sharing the total social service budget and fighting for its meager slice of the pie. Never in the course of colonial education development were funds generously available with perhaps the noteable and significant exception of the founding and early years of the Prince of Wales College and School at Achimota in the Gold Coast.[18] This was accomplished before the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Even with the C.D. & W. Act, in which education was ignominiously thought of as 'Welfare', the grants of money could only be used for capital expenditure and not for expenditures that were considered recurring such as salaries, technical liaison, maintenance, replacement of supplies, or curriculum development. The shameful paucity of financial resources for education in many of the colonies prevented full use of Colonial Development and Welfare Act grants because the Education Department in the colonies could not afford to carry the increased load to maintain staff and provision the schools and institutes that could have been built.

The disparity between educational policy and practice in the British colonies is in direct proportion to the disparity between the economic policy of production for use and production for profit. The later economic view subscribes to the idea that the improvement of economic conditions have to take precedence over educational advance in order to provide the indispensable foundation for education. Production for use, on the other hand, would more generally support the view that increased production may only be possible if education in the broad sense of community development takes a hand in removing ignorance, prejudice, and augmenting efficiency and imparting a new outlook to the people. This view sees education and social services as investment in human resources which once developed can assist in the development of the material resources.

Great Britain's colonial education policy was a heuristic design for investment in human resources formulated with an eye on preserving what was best in indigenous cultures and calling for the advancement of the whole community. In the execution of their single responsibility the original framers of the educational policy and their subsequent supporters can only be admired and praised for their basic radical humanism.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

An investigation into the formulation of British Colonial education policy highlights the complexity and responsibility of formulating policy by one culture to be used for another culture. It also discloses that policy formulation is not an entirely opaque process if a combination of investigative methodological tools are used. Within the limited context of the British experience of formulating a policy for the general guidance of its colonial territories, it is evident that educational policy and economic policy should be closely correlated so as to maximize the benefits accrued to the whole society. When policy considerations are limited to specific areas of a society, the interdependence of that area or institution on the other areas of society should also be considered so as to insure some meaningful degree of implementation. Otherwise policy recommendations stand as heuristic dust collectors that are only occasionally pulled off the shelf marvelled at by historians, but which unfortunately seem to go unnoticed by those people within the power structure capable of transforming policy recommendations into actual results.

The educational policy formulated for the British colonies has undergone a rather consistent criticism in terms of selected interpretations of various policy statements, or because the policy separated African from European education. The intent of the policy was clear from its very inception; what tends to confuse the issue was the disparity between policy and practice. Writing as early as 1943 Kwame Nkrumah recognized the central heuristic feature of British colonial education policy as a "cultural dialectic synthesis" which desired to give the Africans the best of both their own culture and the culture of the western world.[1] Nkrumah was aware that for the most part the political-economic forces in Africa were not in agreement with the educational policy recommendations which resulted in the failure of the schools to relate to the life of the people," so as to equip and fit them to meet their varied life demands."[2] Nkrumah's perceptions and knowledge of the intent of British colonial education policy is understandable in light of the fact that Nkrumah was a member of the first teacher training class at Achimota College when it opened in January of 1927.[3]

The study of the formulation of British colonial education policy clearly shows the controlling influence that the original policy statement exerted in relation to subsequent policy statements. The published and unpublished reports of the Advisory Committee on Education indicate a lineal amplification of policy rather than a change in the heuristic concepts of the original policy statement of 1925.

The implications to be drawn from the study of the formulation of British colonial education policy are tantamount to the impact of actualizing the theoretical considerations of radical humanism. Education,

both informal and formal, is a basic process by which the individual is socialized into the community. In the theory of radical humanism, education is a process that is symbolized by a commitment of people to people without alienation or exploitation. When the educational goal is identified as the goal of advancing the whole community to actualize the goal, then the necessary correlation between economics and education has been achieved. Radical humanism calls for nothing less for it sets the human priority above the material or profit priority. It recognizes the basic ecological fact that man is an integral part of the biotic community and to exploit that community ultimately results in the exploitation of man. The exploitation of man breeds alienation which in turn renews the forces of exploitation. It is imperative that the cycle be broken before man destroys his environment and his own biological niche. The theoretical considerations of radical humanism call for nothing less than the synergistic effort of the whole community of advance pari passu the whole community, and in the process of advancement eliminate the alienation and exploitation that has prevented man from yet achieving a true world community dedicated to the advancement of the family of man. A further implication of the study is the tactical advantage of the highest level of government establishing model school programs that are generously financed but cut free from any administrative control other then that necessary to manage its own affairs and responsibly account for its financial operation. The advantages of an autonomous model schools program would be in many ways similar to the advantages of a model cities program. It would encourage experimental educational programs that generally are limited to various levels of education or curriculum specialties and almost invariably hampered by interflicting areas of administrative bureaucracy. The British Advisory Committee on Education was fortunate enough to be able to lend its encouragement and intellectual assistance to the establishment of one such educational complex at Achimota on the Gold Coast. The reason for its existence was that the Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, and the Advisory Committee on Education and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Rt. Hon. William A.G. Ormsby-Gore, all emphatically insisted that education was an investment and in order to invest wisely research and development was essential.

Within the United States today are many center-city areas whose inhabitants consider themselves "colonial subjects" and are using the term more openly. It is imperative that the Federal government take the initiative in formulating a national educational policy that will seek to make education meaningful and relevant to the community. Perhaps an Advisory Committee on Education under the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, or under the President.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY

The study of the formulation of British colonial education policy was conceptualized because of the need to know more about the advantages and disadvantages of cross-cultural educational planning. The focus of the study is the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, which was given the responsibility of advising the Secretary of State for the Colonies on matters of education and assisting him to advance the progress of education in the Colonies and Protectorates. The Committee had the unique role of formulating educational policy for a period of 37 years from 1924 to 1961, and represents an ideal historical example of the complexity of formulating educational policy for under-developed societies.

The central hypothesis under investigation was that the policy formulated by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies reflected a consistent attempt to orient education policy in the colonies to the local needs for human resource development. The initial supposition before the investigation accumulated historical and sociological data was that British policy was focused more on Africans and other colonials adopting the British system of education rather than adapting education to the needs of the people. The results of the investigation substantially supported the hypothesis and clearly proved the initial supposition to be incorrect.

Historical analysis was used as the primary methodology but as a supplementary tool it was decided to use the sociological technique of open-end interviews to assist in documenting value judgements derived from historical analysis. As the investigation proceeded with the historical analysis it became evident that a large portion of the necessary historical documentation would not be available for consultation due to restrictions of the Public Record Act of 1958. However the continued use of sociological investigations finally produced a breakthrough that led to significant documentation involving the Advisory Committee on Education. The breakthrough occurred when several interviews were secured with Dr. J.H. Oldham and personal permission was granted to freely consult his papers and letters at the International Missionary Council Office in London.

The investigation into the formulation of British colonial education policy clearly shows that the intent of the policy was to focus the educational system on the needs of the community and gear the development of education to the development of the community as a whole. As the community's needs changed so too would the educational structure. The policy formulated by the Advisory Committee became a heuristic design for colonial education that would only need amplification by selected emphasis to carry out the overall intent of human resource development.

The Advisory Committee was nearly terminated in the early 1930's for lack of financial support for its Secretariat, but was saved by an American

foundation which wisely recognized the invaluable contributions it had already made, and hopefully would continue to make in the field of International Education. For the Advisory Committee's scope was truly international in dealing with the various components of the British colonial empire, as well as contact with other educational developments in the United States, China, and the Soviet Union.

There are two major implications to be drawn from this study:

(1) There must be a correlation between economic policy and educational policy if the latter is to have relevance and affect the community. When there is not a correlation the educational policy is influenced by the economic policy.

In under-developed nations or in the core of large metropolitan cities in the United States, the concern for community development which may be reflected in an educational policy can only be actualized if the economic policy is geared to the educational policy. If the economic policy is directed toward building up a suitable tax base to support education, it will alienate and exploit people and thereby affect the educational system which will also tend to alienate and exploit people. If, on the other hand, the priority of community development is recognized educationally, and at the same time economically, the resources of the State will be invested in the development of the people who will be in turn capable of economically developing the community without alienation or exploitation.

(2) There is a great value in having Advisory Committees and and drawing upon the many expert opinions available; however, when considering policy for any one select area it is essential to take into consideration the other areas that are directly or indirectly influenced. The structure of society is not unlike the natural biological community when it comes to inadvertent modifications or changes which upset the natural balance. As man is learning in the field of ecology so must he also learn in the field of human ecology that man cannot expect to exploit and alienate his fellow man and his environment and long expect to enjoy the fruits of his labors.

The formulation of British colonial education policy by the Advisory Committee on Education has pioneered in the field of Sociological-ecology and added considerable knowledge to the dynamic conceptualization of radical humanism as a sociological-ecology construct. Further studies of policy formulation would signigicantly assist in the development of more specific techniques for the actualization of Sociological-ecology as a basic community development approach.

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4 The Colonial Office abbreviation for the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

5 The Dominions Office(later Commonwealth Office) administered these areas, but the Colonial Office handled communications regarding the social services.

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2 Letter from Dr. J.H.Oldham to Dr. T. Jesse Jones, March 23,1923.

3 "Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa"(Micro-film), 1st Meeting, January 9, 1924.

4 Letter from Dr. J.H.Oldham to Dr. Garfield Williams, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, May 4, 1923.

5 Letter from Dr. J.H.Oldham to Sir F.D.Lugard, October 3,1924, and Dr. J.H.Oldham to Sir Michael Sadler, February 26,1925.

6 Letter from Dr. J.H.Oldham to Hanns Vischer, September 3,1924.

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8 The idea was practiced for a time in the Sudan under Lord Cromer and Sir James Currie recommended its general adoption by the Colonial Office. See also Dr. J.H.Oldham to Rev. R. Forgan, April 9, 1924.

9 Interview with Sir Christopher Cox, June 9,1965, and Interview with Mr. W.E.F. Ward, June 18,1965.

10 Letter from Dr. J.H.Oldham to Dr. F.E.Keppel, August 4,1933. With kind permission of Dr. Oldham and the Carnegie Corporation.

11 Letter from Dr. J.H. Oldham to Lord Plymouth, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, October 25,1933.

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800 ABSTRACT The study investigates the formulation of British colonial education
801 policy and attempts to evaluate the hypthesis that the policies formulated by the
802 Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies reflected a consistent attempt to
803 orient education policy in the colonies to the local needs for human resource
804 development. The use of historical analysis and open-ended interviews subsequently
805 led to a large collection of personal papers and documents of the Advisory Committee
806 on Education, including the Minutes of the Committee, that had been accumulated
807 by Dr. J.H. Oldham. The research supports the hypothesis and further discloses
808 that the framers of the original policy statement on colonial education issued in
809 1925 were aware of the necessary correlation between education and economic policy.
810 The original nucleus of the Advisory Committee used what influence they could
811 effectively exert to insist that education be considered a social investment and
812 not an expense(service). Unfortunately, their persuasions could not revolutionize
813 the political--administrative autochthonous structure of the colonies, or the
814 Colonial Office. The Advisory Committee on Education had no power to compel; only
815 an authority to persuade. The implications to be drawn from the study suggest
816 that the British experience of cross-cultural educational planning is highly
817 significant for the further development of the construct of Sociological-ecology
818 which would use radical humanism as a heuristic axiological premise.
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